

## The Martyrdom of Richard Scrope

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Richard Scrope (1350-1405), Archbishop of York, died the death of a martyr, ostensibly for his active participation in a rebellion against Henry IV. The author of the text is Clemens Maidstone, who cites his father as the source of the narrative.<sup>1</sup> The Latin text below has been copied from the Latin Library website.

Martyrdom is an historically complex phenomenon, and I wish to add a brief note on some of the cultures that have gone into the making of European culture, sometimes referred to as Judeo-Christian and Greco-Roman. The concept of bearing witness and suffering for a belief is, of course, not confined to these cultures, but they are the ones most familiar to me.

The first two groups, Jews and Christians, were witnesses (martyrs) in the first instance to their beliefs, but naturally it would be disingenuous to claim that there was a clear dividing line between religion and politics. The third group, Alexandrian Greeks, were martyrs of the 1st to 3rd cent. AD to their dissatisfaction with the Roman authorities, with a hostile nod in the direction of the Jews, whom they seemed to regard as privileged by the authorities: to what extent this can be understood as 'anti-semitic' probably depends on how one understands that term.

The earliest examples of martyrdom texts, arguably, are from the 2nd cent. BC: the Jewish rebels against the Macedonian Antiochus IV in Books 2, 6:18 - 7: 42 and 4, 5-18 of Maccabees. Antiochus tried to force the Jews to give up their religion, but they offered resistance, recaptured Judea and set up their own monarchy, the Hasmonean Dynasty. They were regarded by Origen, perhaps the least anti-semitic early Christian writer, in his pamphlet of 235 AD *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, as an example to be followed by Christians, who were at that time being persecuted both sporadically and systematically by a state that probably had little understanding of or sympathy with the exclusive nature of their worship. The 3rd cent. in particular witnessed intensive and concerted persecutions, culminating in what is usually known as the Great Persecution set in motion by Diocletian, which left such a scar on the psyche of Egyptian Christians that the Coptic Calendar (Year of the Martyrs) begins not with the persecution itself, for which a starting point cannot be isolated, but with the accession date of Diocletian (284).

There is another type of 'martyrdom' that has less to do with religion than it does with a sort of local patriotism centred on Alexandria: the texts that attest to this phenomenon survive only on the relatively small fragments of papyrus that record the interview between the complainant and the authorities and, as such, were representative only of the individuals concerned: there was no 'movement' of which they could later form the textual tradition, so they were never gathered into canonical form or copied. The texts contain the language of the courts as well as the

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<sup>1</sup> On the topic of medieval political martyrdom in general cf. D. Pirovansky *Martyrs in the Making* (2008) and the case of Richard Scrope in particular cf. J.W. McKenna 'Popular canonization as political propaganda: the cult of Archbishop Scrope' *Speculum* 45 (1970) pp. 608-623.

language of fiction and the theatre (see note 3 p. viii of the edition of the Greek texts) . What we have is, as it were, what there was. The texts started to appear in published form in 1839 and the comparison between these texts and Christian martyrdom became increasingly common: what they have in common is the judicial interview, which in the case of Christians was later 'written up' and became a fundamental part of the growth of Christianity and, in the case of the Alexandrian Greeks, remained simply documents that attested to the experience of individuals.<sup>2</sup>

The political background of this narrative is a struggle for power between the Houses of York and Lancaster, cadet branches of the Plantagenet dynasty. Richard Scrope (1350-1405) served in the Church in various capacities from the age of 18. He was from a reasonably well-connected family, and this must have helped with preferment. After some time in Rome he returned to England, where at the age of 36 he was consecrated Bishop of Lichfield. In 1397 he was sent to Rome by Richard II to plead the cause of the canonization of Edward II. Domestic politics in England were informed by the Black Death of the 1340s, which led to serious economic and social problems, including major demographic changes, and the expensive military campaigns for supremacy in France as well more local forays into Scotland and Ireland. In the late 1380s Richard was confronted by a parliament that sought to hold his expenditure in check, and Richard's response was to invite members of the judiciary in the kingdom as a whole to confirm the prerogative of royalty. This confirmation was seen by Richard as an opportunity to dismiss government ministers as well as parliament at will. The response to this was the formation of a group of powerful nobles called the Lords Appellant, who eventually forced Richard to abdicate. His place was taken by the Lancastrian Henry Bolingbroke, who assumed the title of Henry IV after returning to England from an exile into which he had been sent, with the support of the powerful Northumberland family, the Percys, who were not rewarded for this support as they thought they should have been. Distance from followed by rebellion against Henry IV soon followed. Richard Scrope, as the influential Archbishop of York, probably wanted to but was unable to remain aloof from the conflict for very long. The Percys were defeated by Henry's forces, which included those of the Earl of Westmoreland, in a battle at Shrewsbury in 1403. Two years later, there was another assault on Henry, sometimes known as the Northern Rebellion. This time involving Richard Scrope, who assembled a force of 8,000 men. There appear to have been three parties involved in the conflict: Scrope, Percy and Westmoreland on behalf of the King.<sup>3</sup> It seems that Percy, who had tried to take Westmoreland prisoner but failed, was afraid of engaging Westmoreland's forces and withdrew from the conflict, leaving Scrope stranded. Consequently, Scrope was arrested for treason and executed. It was probably the fact that he was a high-ranking clergyman that prompted the use of the word 'martyrdom' for what in the case of a member of the laity would have been considered a legitimate punishment. I am not aware that there is any surviving record of the trial proceedings in which Scrope was condemned.

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2 H. Musurillo (Greek) *Acta Alexandrinorum* (1961) and (English) *Acts of the Pagan Martyrs* (1954).

3 Apart from the dramatic presentation of Scrope's role in the opposition to Henry IV by Shakespeare in *Henry IV Part 2* Act 4, it is also worth considering P. McNiven 'The betrayal of Archbishop Scrope' (<https://www.escholar.manchester.ac.uk/api/datastream?publicationPid=uk-ac-man-scw:1m2742&datastreamId=POST-PEER-REVIEW-PUBLISHERS-DOCUMENT.PDF>)

## **Hae fuerunt causae, quare decollatus est archiepiscopus Ricardus Scrope**

Prima causa fuit, quod consulit regi ad poenitendum, et ad satisfaciendum pro perjurio quo iuravit in villa de Chestre per sacramentum corporis Domini, quod non rebelleret nec deponi consentiret regem Ricardum; cuius contrarium fecit, cogendo regem Ricardum resignare coronam in parlamento in crastino Sancti Michaelis anno Domini millesimo CCCLXXXIX., per attornatum, et eodem rege Ricardo in Turri London incluso medio tempore; et tamen fidelitatem ante eidem regi Ricardo iuravit in praesentia domini Thomae Arundell archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, et multorum nobilium.

2. Item, optavit idem archiepiscopus, Ricardus Scrope, quod corona regni restitueretur rectae lineae, vel cursui, et ecclesia Anglicana haberet suas libertates, privilegia et consuetudines secundum justas leges regni Angliae ab antiquo usitatas.

3. Item, quod domini regni et magnates iudicaretur per pares suos cum deliberatione iusta aliorum dominorum illis aequalium.

4. Item, quod clerus et communitas regni non sint oppressi per exactiones et taxas decimarum, quintadecimarum, et subsidiorum, nec per alias impositiones iniquas, eo modo quo jam opprimuntur. Anno post coronationem suam idem rex habuit unam decimam, et aliquando duas in uno anno, licet in primo introitu iuravit idem rex, quod in tempore vitae suae, in quantum impedire possit, quod nunquam solveret ecclesia Anglicana decimam, nec populus taxam: et istud iuravit in castro de Knaresburgh juxta Eboracum

## **The reasons why Archbishop Richard Scrope was beheaded**

First reason: he counselled the King to repent and to make amends for the false oath he had sworn in the town of Chester on the sacrament of the body of the Lord that he would not rebel or let King Richard be deposed. Indeed, he did the opposite: he forced Richard to give up his throne in Parliament on the day after Michaelmas in 1399 by attorney, while the same King Richard in the meantime was locked up in the Tower of London; and yet he swore loyalty to the same King Richard in the presence of the lord Thomas Arundell Archbishop of Canterbury and many other nobles.

Second reason: the Archbishop, Richard Scrope, wanted the crown of the kingdom to be restored to the rightful line or course and that the English Church should have its liberties, privileges and customs in accordance with the laws that the kingdom of England had enjoyed since antiquity.

Third reason: he wanted the lords and magnates of the kingdom to be judged by their peers in keeping with the fair deliberation of other lords equal to them.

The fourth reason: he wanted the clergy and the commons of the kingdom not to be oppressed by levies and taxes of 10% and 15% and feudal support or by unjust impositions of the sort that currently burden them. In the year after the coronation the same King received one tithe and at some point in a year two tithes, even though he had sworn at his accession that he would do his best while he was alive that the English Church would never pay a tithe or that the people would pay tax, and he swore this oath at Knaresburgh Castle near York.

5. Item, quod, corona restituta rectae lineae, certi sapientes, qui sciunt honores et haberent scientiam, assignarentur; alii cupidi et avari ac ambitiosi, qui volunt dicere et facere quae regi placent et non Deo, sed ut ipsimet ditarentur, amoverentur.

The fifth reason: the crown having been restored to the correct line, he wanted reliable wise men to be appointed who knew honours and were knowledgeable<sup>4</sup>; and others, grasping and greedy and ambitious willing to say and do what was good for the King but not God and whose main interest was to enrich themselves, he wanted removed.

6. Item, quod vicecomites in quolibet comitatu libere eligerentur absque coercione domini regis seu baronum.

The sixth reason: he wanted viscounts in whatever county to be chosen without royal or baronial coercion.

7. Item, quod barones, nobiles, et communitas regni in suis causis haberent in parlamento liberam disponendi facultatem.

The seventh reason: he wanted barons, nobles and the commons to be able to decide upon their affairs freely in Parliament.

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4 I do not understand this description.

## Hic incipit Martyrium praedicti Ricardi archiepiscopi

Anno Domini MCCCCV., VIII. die mensis Junii, scilicet in die Sancti Willelmi Confessoris, quae tunc fuit feria secunda Pentecostes, magister Ricardus Scrope, baccalarius Oxoniae artium, doctor utriusque juris Cantabrigiae, advocatus pauperum nuper in curia Romana, et deinde Lichfeldiae episcopus, et postea archiepiscopus Eboracensis, decollatus est extra muros prope Eboracum. Henricus enim Quartus, rex Angliae, in camera manerii dicti archiepiscopi, quod vocatur Bishopsthorp juxta Eboracum, mandavit Willelmo Gascoyne armigero, adtunc justitiario principali Angliae, ut sententiam mortis de praefato archiepiscopo proferret tanquam de proditore regis; qui hoc recusavit, et sic sibi respondit: "Nec vos, domine mi rex, nec aliquis nomine vestro vester ligeus, potestis licite secundum jura regni aliquem episcopum ad mortem judicare." Unde praefatum archiepiscopum judicare omnino renuit. Quare idem rex ira vehementi exarsit versus eundum judicem, cujus memoria sit in benedictionem in saecula saeculi. Et statim mandavit domino Willelmo Fulthorp, militi et non judici, ut eodem die, scilicet feria secunda hebdomadis Pentecostes, qui fuit dies octavus mensis Junii, sententiam mortis in aula praefati manerii in archiepiscopum, quem vocavit proditorem, proferret. Et cum praedictus Willelmus Gascoyne, judex principalis Angliae, omnino renuit, praedictus dominus Willelmus Fulthorp in loco judicis sedit, et archiepiscopum adduci praeceperat. Quo archiepiscopo coram ipso nudo capite stante, hanc sententiam, ipso audiente et omnibus circumstantibus, protulit: "Te, Ricardum, proditorem regis, ad mortem judicamus, et ex praecepto regis decollari mandamus." Haec audiens archiepiscopus, hanc orationem publice dixit: "Deus justus et verus scit me nunquam intendisse malum contra personam regis nunc Henrici Quarti." (Quibus verbis archiepiscopi patet communem famam

## The martyrdom of the aforesaid Archbishop Richard

In 1405, 8 June. that is the feat of St William the Confessor,<sup>5</sup> which was at that time the second day of Pentecost, Master Richard Scrope, Bachelor of Arts at Oxford and Doctor of Laws at Cambridge, lately advocate of the poor in the Roman curia. subsequently Bishop of Lichfield and later Archbishop of York, was beheaded outside the walls of York. For Henry IV, King of England, in a chamber of the manor belonging to the Archbishop, which is called Bishopsthorp near York, ordered William of Gascoyne, a knight who was at that time the principal legal officer in England, to pass sentence of death on the said Archbishop as a traitor to the King. But he recused himself, saying; "Neither you, my lord King, any servant acting in your name,<sup>6</sup> can legitimately, according to the laws of the kingdom, condemn a bishop to death." In this way he categorically refused to judge the said Archbishop. This made the king burn vehemently with rage at the judge (may his memory be blessed forever), so he immediately sent for William Fulthorp, not a lawyer but a soldier, that on the same day, the second day of Pentecost, 8 June, he might pronounce the sentence of death on the Archbishop, whom he called a traitor in the hall of the aforesaid manor house. When William Gascoyne, the principal judge in England, categorically refused. his place was taken by William Fulthorp, who ordered the Archbishop to be brought to him. While the prelate stood before him with bare head, he pronounced this sentence so that he and those present could hear: "We sentence you Richard, a traitor to the King, to death and, on the instructions of the King, we order you to be beheaded." On hearing this the Archbishop addressed the general assembly as follows: "The just and true God knows that I never intended any harm to the person of the King, who is currently Henry IV." (With these words the Archbishop made his statement a matter of

5 Died 1154 and canonized 1227.

6 *ligeus* 'liege'.

tunc fuisse ubique. Intentio tamen archiepiscopi fuit adire regem cum caeteris dominis, qui ad hoc congregarentur, ut peteret a rege reformationem malorum in regno tunc existentium; quia tunc erant dissensiones inter dominos et specialiter inter dominum Nevill et comitem Marescallum. Quare archiepiscopus dixit populo suo seipsum equitare cum multitudine.) Et post praedicta verba dixit saepius circumstantibus: "Oretis, ut Deus Omnipotens non vindicet mortem meam in rege nec in suis." Quae verba saepe repetiit, deprecando simul prothomartyri Stephano, qui pro lapidantibus deprecatus est. Et postea eadem die, circa meridiem, ductus est super equum valoris xl. d., sine sella; et gratias agens, dixit quod "Nunquam placuit mihi melius equus quam iste placet." Et Psalmum, *Exaudi secundum*, decantavit, sic equitando cum capistro et in blodia chimera et manicis chimerae ejusdem coloris existentibus. Vestem tamen lineam, qua utuntur episcopi, non sinebant archiepiscopum uti. Et sic, cum capicio humeros suos pendente, ductus est, sicut ovis ad victimam, qui vero non aperuit os suum, nec ad vindictam, nec ad excommunicationis sententiam. Qui cum ad locum decollationis pervenisset, dixit: "Omnipotens Deus, tibi offero meipsum et causas pro quibus patior, et veniam a Te peto pro omnibus peccatis et indulgentiam a me commissis sive omissis." Et tunc capuciam et tunicam ad terram deposuit: et suo decollatori, Thomae Alman nuncupato, dixit: "Fili, mortem meam Deus tibi remittat!" et "Ego tibi remitto; tamen deprecor, ut [des] mihi cum gladio tuo quinque vulnera in collo meo, quae sustinere cupio pro amore Domini mei Jhesu Christi, Qui pro nobis, obediens Patri usque ad mortem, quinque vulnera principalia sustinuit." Et tribus vicibus osculatus est eum; et positus genibus orabat dicens: "In manus tuas, dulcissime Jhesu, commendo spiritum meum,"

public knowledge, but his intention had been to approach the King, together with other lords who were assembled there, to petition the King to redress the grievances currently in the kingdom, for there were disagreements among the lords and especially between Lord Nevill and the Earl Marshal. Which is why the Archbishop told his people that he would ride with them.) After these words, he said more than once to those present: "Pray that God does not avenge my death on the King or his subjects." After repeating these words, at the same praying to Stephen the protomartyr, who prayed for those stoning him.<sup>7</sup> Later that same day, about midday, he was led out on a horse worth 40 pence without a saddle. Expressing his thanks he said: "I have never been more pleased with a horse than this one." He began to sing the Psalm *Exaudi secundum*<sup>8</sup> as he rode along with a halter and a blue chimere<sup>9</sup> with matching sleeves, because he was not permitted to wear the linen garment that bishops wear. And so, with a hood draped over his shoulders, he was led, like a sheep to the slaughter unable to open its mouth, either to defend himself or pronounce the sentence of excommunication. When he reached the place of execution, he said: "Almighty God, I offer you myself and the causes for which I am suffering, and I seek Your pardon for all my sins and indulgence for all the thing committed or omitted by me." He then placed his hood and tunic on the ground and to his executioner, named Thomas Alman, he said: "Son, may God forgive you my death" and "I forgive you, but ask you to strike my neck five times with your sword. I wish to bear these blows for the love of my God Jesus Christ, Who, obedient to His Father unto death, sustained five principal wounds."<sup>10</sup> Richard kissed him three times and and knelt down, praying: "I commend my spirit to Your hands, sweetest Jesus", and with hands joined and eyes

7 Acts 7.

8 Ps. 68, 17

9 Worn by a bishop, somewhat like an academic gown.

10 I can find nothing in the NT to support this, but there may well be apocryphal traditions that support it. The only association with five known to me is the Little Office of Passion designed by St Francis of Assisi around the five central moments of the Passion narrative (arrest, trial before the Sanhedrin, interlude, trial before Pontius Pilate and crucifixion).

junctis manibus, et elevatis oculis in caelum; et mox extendit collum, genuflectendo, et cancellatis manibus super pectus suum, decollator cum gladio eum quinque in collo percussit una et eadem carnis divisione. Et in quinta percussione caput ad terram cadit, corpus super dexterum latus.

Erant enim ibi quinque seliones cum ordeo ubi fuit archipraesul decollatus, qui erant pedibus conculcantium in die decollationis suae penitus destructi, sed tamen in autumnno, absque aliquo opere, Deus ex Sua gratia tale incrementum dedit supra communem usum, ut aliqui calami quinque, aliqui quatuor spicas ordeï produxerunt, et qui pauciores, minus tamen quam duas spicas non produxerunt.

Eo tempore quo fuit decollatus, idem rex horribili lepra percussus est equitando versus Ripon; et videbatur quod quidam percussit eum sensibiliter; et hac de causa pernoctabat in villa de Hamerton per septem miliaria ab Eboraco distante; et nocte eadem sequente horribiliter idem rex vexabatur, in tantum quod clamore magno camerarios suos excitavit, qui surgentes omnia luminaria in camera et aula sine lumine et sine igne invenerunt, et regi theriacum in vino vocato *vernage* dederunt; et in crastino ad Ripon equitavit valde infirmus, ubi permansit per septem dies. Et quando Georgius Plumpton, qui regem octavo die decollationis praedictae vidit, (*sic*) quod in facie et in manibus praedicti regis magnae pustulae leprosaе crescebant, et praeminebant quasi capita mamillarum. Et qui ista vidit et audivit, testimonium perhibuit, Stephanus Cotinham alias Palmer; qui haec magistro Thomae Gascoyne, sacrae Theologiae professori, retulit.

In nocte vero tertia post praedictam decollationem apparuit idem archiepiscopus Johanni Sibson in domo sua apud Roclyfe,

raised to heaven, he stretched forth his neck, genuflecting with his hands crossed on his breast, he was struck on the neck five times by the executioner's sword in one and the same division of flesh.<sup>11</sup> And at the fifth blow his head fell to the ground, his body on its right side.

There were five strips of barley where the archprelate was decapitated and they were destroyed by the feet of those who walked over them on the day of his beheading. In the autumn, without any work, God in His grace made them grow uncommonly profusely. so that on some of the stalks there were five ears, on others four ears, and even the smaller ones did not produce fewer than two.

At the time of the beheading the King was struck by a horrible leprosy<sup>12</sup> while riding to Ripon, and it was clear that his senses had been received a blow. So he stayed overnight in the village of Hamerton about seven miles from York. The King continued to suffer horribly: he woke up the servants with his cries of distress and they arose and found all the lights in the bedchamber and the hall without light and fire. They gave the King a medicine in a wine called 'vernage'.<sup>13</sup> On the following day, the invalid made haste to Ripon, where he stayed for seven days. George Plumpton, who saw the King a week after the beheading, recognized that great leprous pustules were growing and beginning to stick out like nipples. Someone who saw and heard this was Stephen Cotinham alias Palmer, and he told Thomas Gascoyne, a theology teacher.

In the third night after the beheading the Archbishop appeared to John Sibson in his house at Roclyfe, telling him to confess his sin of

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11 I understand this to mean that the blows were delivered in linear sequence.

12 The story of Henry's leprosy is almost the opposite of Constantine the Great's leprosy: the former was visited by the disease for having committed a sin, the latter was cured of his leprosy by the Pontiff Silvester I, who wanted to prevent Constantine from committing a sin.

13 A sweet Italian white wine. The medicine (*theriacum*) is also known as 'theriac' (which later became 'treacle'), which contained as many as 64 ingredients, including opium, and probably had some sort of palliative effect on pain. It was imported into England and expensive.

praeci piens eidem ut peccatum suum de cogitatione homicidii poenitentiario Eboracensi confiteretur; "Quia," inquit, "triginta annis elapsis de dicto proposito indies insidias parasti ad occidendum talem hominem. Sed quia in opere non complexisti, peccatum non esse putasti, nec confessus es. Ideo poenitere, et confitere, ne forte damneris." Hoc idem Johannes Sybson narravit in audientia plurimorum; et praecepit ei, ut offerret candelam ceream super sepulchrum ejus; et quod asportaret truncos, quos homines super sepulchrum ejus posuerunt ne homines ibidem adorarent vel offerrent. Quae idem Johannes, solus et senex dierum, asportavit et removit, licet et aliqua ipsorum vix tres fortes homines levare potuerunt, et coram altari Beatae Virginis Mariae ibidem in ecclesia deposuit; ac per xiiij. vices eidem Johanni idem sanctus archipraesul apparuit. Et virgo moriebatur idem archiepiscopus, ut per confessionem ejusdem cognitum est.

Anno Dominicae Incarnationis MCCCCV. decollatus est felix recordationis dominus Ricardus Scrope, legum doctor, ex praecepto et consensu Henrici regis Angliae, post cujus felicem mortem multimoda miraculorum gloria declarata, idem rex, saniori consilio quorundam sibi assistentium ad se reversus, poenitudinem quandam assumpsisse videatur; misitque ad sedem Apostolicam nuntios solennes pro absolutione obtinenda, scilicet tam pro injuria Christi ecclesiae lata, quam pro reatu quem contraxit praeci piendo mortem praedicti sanctissimi praesulis, necnon contra omnia jura sibi nequiter procurata. Cum vero Romanus pontifex nuntiorum verba audisset, ingemuit, et plurimas effundens lacrymas cum maximo moerore dixit: "Heu! heu! Quod in diebus meis tanto scelere Christi sponsa sit impiorum manibus tam turpiter obscurata!" Et his dictis recessit. Cumque dicti nuntii regis nudis pedibus capitibus discoopertis, et vestibus tantummodo

intended homicide to the penitentiary<sup>14</sup> at York. "Thirty years have elapsed from the said incident, when you planned to waylay and kill this person. But you did not carry out the plan or think that it was a sin or confess to it. So, repent and confess lest you be damned." This is what John Sibson said in his public confession.<sup>15</sup> He instructed Sibson it to offer a wax candle over his grave and to carry off the trunks that had been put on his grave lest people should come to worship there or make offerings. John, alone and aged, removed them and took them away, even though three strong men would have had difficulty lifting them, and placed them before the altar of the Virgin in the church. The Archbishop appeared to John 14 times. The Archbishop died a virgin,<sup>16</sup> as is known from his confession.

In 1405 AD, Richard Scrope LL.D. of blessed memory, was beheaded on the orders and with the assent of Henry King of England and his blessed death was declared to be a source of miracles of many sorts. Henry, on the sound advice of those around him, returned to his senses and seems<sup>17</sup> to have felt some sort of repentance. He sent solemn messengers to the Apostolic See to obtain absolution, as much for the insult levelled at the Church of Christ as for the guilt he had incurred by ordering the death of the Archbishop, as well as his flagrant disregard of all laws. After the Roman Pontifex had listened to the messengers, he sighed and, in great sadness, burst into tears: "Alas, alas, that in my lifetime the bride of Christ has been darkened so basely by the hands of impious men with such a crime !" And with this he withdrew. The royal messengers, barefoot and bareheaded, wearing only garments of linen, begged for pardon, inulgence and absolution, but were

14 An office-holder of the Church who could issue absolution.

15 I am not sure if this is an appropriate translation of *audientia plurimorum*.

16 This is the only meaning I can extract from this sentence. The use Imperfect may signal the durative as distinct from the punctual nature of this event, signalled in English by the Simple and Progressive forms: he died (punctual)/ he was dying (durative), the latter able to focus on the entire event rather than the simple point of death.

17 *videatur*: I suspect that this is typographical error for *videbatur*.



lineis induti, veniam, indulgentiamque et absolutionem postulassent, et nullatenus profecissent; tandem preces precibus immergentes, et pretiosa munera cardinalibus et cubiculariis distribuentes, sub hac tantummodo conditione plenarium indulgentiam eidem rege obtinuerunt, ut idem rex, tactis sacrosanctis reliquiis Sanctorum, juraret tria nova monasteria construere acrioris observantiae Christianitatis in honore trium Festorum principalium; et quod dotaret ipsa monasteria absque ulla oneris impositione, ut religiosi in eisdem degentes cum omnium pace et animorum quiete Deo gratuitis obsequiis deservirent. Reversi nuntii, omnia referunt, regique praecepta Apostolica, et salutis aeternae januam sibi apertam. Quae omnia libentissime suscepit, et ipse juravit fideliter completurum. Sed quid proficit infirmo sua detegere vulnera, nisi sanitatis remedia voluerit adhibere? Nam usque ad extremam vitae suae horam idem rex Henricus Quartus et propriae animae remedium, et publicum juramentum, et Apostolicum neglexit mandatum, et mortuus est.

Post mortem ejusdem regis accidit quoddam mirabile ad praedicti Ricardi archipraesulis gloriam declarandam, et aeternae memoriae commendandam. Nam infra triginta dies post mortem dicti regis Henrici Quarti venit quidam vir de familia ejusdem ad domum Sanctae Trinitatis de Howndeslowe vescendi causa, et cum in prandio sermocinarentur circumstantes de probitate morum ipsius regis, respondit praedictus vir cuidam armigero vocato Thomae Maydestone in eadem mensa tunc sedenti: "Si fueerit vir bonus, novit Deus; sed hoc verissime scio, quod cum a Westmonasterio corpus ejus versus Cantuarium in parva navicula portaretur, ibidem sepeliendum, ego fui unus de tribus personis qui projecerunt corpus ipsius in mare inter Berkingum et Gravesende." Et addidit cum juramento: "Tanta tempestas ventorum et fluctuum irruit super nos, quod multi nobiles sequentes nos in naviculis octo in numero dispersi sunt, ut vix mortis periculum evaserunt. Nos vero qui eramus cum corpore, in desperatione vitae nostrae positi, cum assensu projecimus illud in mare; et facta est tranquillitas magna. Cistam vero, in qua jacebat,

granted none of them. At length, almost drowning in prayers and distributing precious gifts among the cardinals and chamberlains, the envoys were able, but only under this condition, to obtain a plenary indulgence. The King had to touch the sacred relics of the saints and swear to build three new monasteries of the more stringent observance in honour of the three principal feast days and to endow them with tax-free status so that the men of religion in them might serve God, with services free of charge,<sup>18</sup> in peace and quiet. On their return the envoys reported all the Apostolic instructions to the King and told him that the door to eternal salvation was open to him. He gladly accepted all these conditions and swore that he would carry them out faithfully. But what good is it for someone who is ill to cover up his illness if he does not wish to apply the remedies that restore health? For, to the last day of his life, Henry IV remained neglectful of the remedy for his soul, his public oath and the order of the Pope until the day he died.

After Henry's death, something miraculous happened to demonstrate the glory of the archprelate Richard: thirty day after the death of Henry IV, a member of his family came to the house of the Holy Trinity at Hounslow to dine, and while they were standing around chatting about the probity of that monarch, the aforesaid gentleman said to a knight called Thomas Maidstone sitting at the same table: "If a man is good, he knows God. I know this for a fact, that his body was carried from Westminster to Canterbury in a small boat, there to be buried, for I was one of the three people who threw the body into the water between Berkingham and Gravesend." He added, on oath: "Such a storm of wind and water came upon us that many of the nobles following us in eight boats were scattered and barely escaped with their lives. But we, who were with the body, despairing of our safety, all agreed to throw the body into the water. The storm then subsided. We brought the chest in which the body lay, covered with a gilded shroud to Canterbury and buried it." So, the monks of Canterbury may say that they have

18 This performance of unpaid services may have to do with their tax-free status.

panno deaurato coopertam cum maximo honore  
Cantuariam deportavimus, et sepelivimus eam."  
Dicant ergo monachi Cantuariæ, quod  
sepulchrum regis Henrici Quarti est apud nos,  
non corpus; sicut dixit Petrus de Sancto David  
Act. 2o. Deus Omnipotens est testis et iudex  
quod ego, Clemens Maydestone, vidi virum  
illum, et audivi ipsum jurantem patri meo,  
Thomæ Maydestone, omnia prædicta fore vera.

the grave of Henry the Fourth but not his body,  
as Peter said of St David in Acts 2.<sup>19</sup> God  
Almighty is my witness and judge that I,  
Clemens Maidstone, saw that man and heard  
him swear to my father, Thomas, that all the  
aforesaid was true.

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19 Perhaps Acts 2, 33ff. The story of the empty coffin is probably a testimony to the power of the cult of Richard Scrope: Henry IV's body was in fact exhumed 'undisturbed' in 1832, cf. McKenna *art.cit.* p.616.